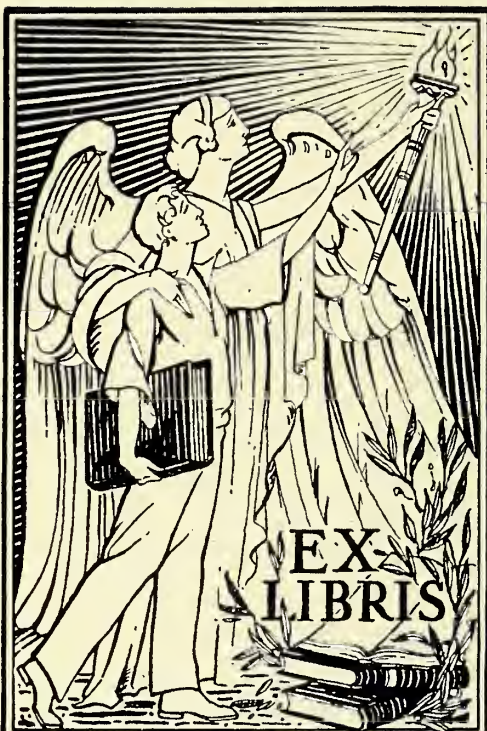


BLIND WELFARE & SOCIAL SECURITY

Submitted by W.McG.Eagar



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**A Memorandum submitted by Mr. W. McG. Eagar,
Secretary - General of the National Institute for the
Blind, for the consideration of the Inter-Departmental
Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services
under the Chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B.**



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1. The Origin of the Memorandum.

This Memorandum consists of (a) an outline of the existing system of blind welfare in England and Wales, and (b) certain suggestions and proposals for the improvement of present arrangements. Before submission to Sir William Beveridge's Committee it has been considered by certain members of the Executive Council of the National Institute for the Blind, who have agreed that it should be put forward by the Institute's Secretary-General.

2. Insurance Schemes.

There is no specific State Insurance Scheme for the blind, and blind welfare is here regarded as an Allied Service linked to existing insurance schemes under the general heading of Social Security.

It should be noted, however, that, partly as a result of representations made by blind welfare organisations, the Ministry of Health in 1929 created the Insurance Section of the Deposit Contributors Fund to provide for blind and other disabled persons who could not secure admission to the Approved Societies. As members of the Insurance Section the blind can obtain better benefits than would be available, under the alternative Section, the Individual Accounts Section.

3. Growth of Blind Welfare.

The existing system of blind welfare is an

elaboration of many local voluntary efforts which have been gradually extended into a national system. From 1791, when the first institution for the blind in Great Britain was established by Edward Rushton in Liverpool, to the passing of the Blind Persons Act in 1920, the system of welfare, though widely extended, was necessarily partial and incomplete. With the passing of the Blind Persons Act the system became for the first time *comprehensive*, in the sense that a purposeful attempt could thenceforward be made to provide for all the needs of the blind from infancy to old age. The system now is *comprehensive* and also *specific*, in the sense that it is devised to compensate the actual handicap of blindness at each point where it occurs, i.e., in education and training, in economic and industrial position, and in social and cultural life.

4. Character of Existing System.

As compared with any other group of handicapped persons the blind were placed in a unique position by the Blind Persons Act. The effectiveness of combined voluntary and official action in a social service has now been tested by 20 years' experience, and that experience may be thought sufficient to justify proposals for further developments in blind welfare and possibly for analogous public-voluntary co-operation in other branches of social service.

5. The Blind in England and Wales.

Definition of blindness and registration of the blind, which were prime principles of the Blind Persons Act, have made possible the precise

ascertainment and classification of the blind. The following tables give (i) the Age Distribution, and (ii) the Industrial Status of the Blind Population of England and Wales at March 31st, 1941 :-

TABLE I.
BLIND PERSONS AGE GROUPS—1941.

Age	0-1	1-5	5-16	16-21	21-40	40-50	50-65	65-70	70 and over	Unknown	TOTAL
Total	11	190	1,425	1,227	7,920	7,491	18,954	9,716	27,250	140	74,324
Ratio to Total Population, 1940-41	185 per 100,000										

TABLE II.
TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT—AGE 16 AND UPWARDS.

<i>Employed</i>											
By blind organisations (a) Workshops	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,581
(b) Home Workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,686
All others not included in (a) or (b)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,679
Total Employed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,946
<i>Undergoing Training</i>											
Industrial	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	774
Secondary	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	64
Professional or University	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	889
Trained but unemployed	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	417
No training, but trainable	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	325
Unemployable	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	63,119
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	63,861
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72,696

6. Expenditure on Blind Welfare.

A. NON-CONTRIBUTORY SOURCES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE BLIND AND THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE UNDER EACH HEADING SO FAR AS IT IS KNOWN :

(a) From the Treasury :

- (i) For blind Old Age Pensions, payable on a Means Test basis at the age of 40 ; 10s. per week, total cost to the State, 1940-41, for 26,579 old age pensioners aged 40-70 £678,600
To this must be added pensions paid to blind persons over 70 years of age, the amount of which say, 25,000 persons may be estimated at £650,000
£1,328,600

- (ii) War Disability Pensions for 1,900 ex-Servicemen, estimated in 1937 at approximately £275,000

- (b) From County Councils and County Borough Councils, i.e., Local Authorities responsible under the Blind Persons Act—as at 31st March, 1939 £1,985,212
This figure includes :

- (i) Domiciliary Assistance given on varying scales to unemployable blind persons.
(ii) Contributions towards the Augmentation of Wages of blind persons employed in workshops

for the blind, and in home workers' schemes, and to a small extent of blind persons otherwise employed.

- (iii) *Per capita* grants for employees in workshops, home workers' schemes, etc.
(iv) Payment of fees for residents in homes.
(v) Payments under Section 102 (1) of the Local Government Act, 1929, being contributions in respect of embossed literature for the blind, etc.
(vi) Cost of local administration of blind welfare services where municipalised, and payment of home teachers.
(vii) Other incidental payments made to or on behalf of blind persons from rate funds.

- B. PAYMENTS FROM LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES for the education of blind children aged 5-16, adolescents and adults, for the year ending 1940-41 £200,000

TOTAL, A and B, i.e., payments from public funds £3,788,812

C. EXPENDITURE BY VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS :

- (a) From Blind Pensions Societies a total estimated in 1940-41 at approximately £75,000

(b) By Voluntary Societies for the Blind (other than Pensions Societies and St. Dunstan's Organisation for Blinded Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen) a total estimated for the year 1937-38 for the 72,424 "civilian blind" at	£530,000
(c) By St. Dunstan's Organisation for Blinded Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen in respect of the care of approximately 1,900 blind ex-Servicemen, 1937-38	£204,000
Total Expenditure by Voluntary Organisations	£809,000
Grand Total, A, B and C	<u>£4,597,812</u>
D. UNDER THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACTS. A small and unknown amount is received by some blind persons by reason of compensation awards	£x
E. CONTRIBUTORY SOURCES OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. From Contributory Schemes of general application payments are made to the blind for sickness benefit, contributory pensions and unemployment benefit	£y

The greater part of the expenditure under A and the whole of the unstated amounts under D and E are cash payments to blind persons. The expenditure under B and greater part of that under C in the same Section is not cash payment, but the cost of services providing for education, training, employment and general welfare of the blind.

7. Organisation—Voluntary and Official.

A network of voluntary societies covers England and Wales. In the areas of most County Councils and County Borough Councils there are voluntary societies which in varying degree are subsidised by the appropriate Local Authorities in respect of work which is left in their hands or delegated to them. In addition to these local voluntary societies there are a number of institutions, providing employment and education, which serve areas larger than local but smaller than national. These more-than-local areas are defined purely by practical convenience: they may, and in fact do, frequently overlap. There are also societies of national character and scope.

The pattern of service in different areas varies greatly. In one area the service may be performed by a voluntary agency or agencies, which provide education, training and employment, are responsible for the Home Teaching Service, and act as paymasters of domiciliary assistance on behalf of the Local Authority or Local Authorities. In another all the services may be performed by the Local Authority direct, the voluntary agency having been superseded or, if still in existence, being ignored.

Few local government areas are fully equipped to provide all services; one may have a school but not a workshop; another a workshop, not a school; many have neither and are compelled to send children to other areas for their education; similarly trainees, whether adolescent or adult, have to be sent "abroad," and blind persons seeking employment in workshops have to go where such employment can be found. One result of this is to raise considerable difficulties of chargeability. (*See below*, SECTION 16.)

Nine Local Authorities maintain day schools for blind children (two London schools having some boarding accommodation). One group of Local Authorities in East Anglia has combined to found, and maintain jointly, a residential school for their blind children at Gorleston-on-Sea. Glamorgan County Council maintains a boarding school at Bridgend to which children from other areas are admitted. Ten of the 54 Workshops for the Blind are wholly maintained and managed by Local Authorities. With these exceptions, all teaching, training and employment agencies in England and Wales are voluntary societies.

On the other hand, all such voluntary agencies receive fees from Local Authorities, and some of them other financial assistance. Local Authorities secure their interests and safeguard their expenditure by representation, to varying degrees, on the governing bodies of the voluntary agencies concerned.

In the middle part of the 1920-1939 period, there was a tendency on the part of Local Authorities to take all services of the blind under their direct administration. Just prior to the war, there was a slackening of this tendency and even a reversal in a few areas.

8. National Agencies.

The largest of the national societies, the National Institute for the Blind, has, as a result of an agreement made in 1926 between the Institute and the Ministry of Health, and later of an agreement between the Institute and the County Councils Association and the Association of Municipal Corporations, been placed under the government of a representative Council, on which are represented:

- the Regional Bodies referred to in SECTION 10 below;
- the County Councils Association and the Association of Municipal Corporations;
- certain national agencies for the blind;
- organisations of blind persons;
- "persons interested in national work for the blind," i.e., the original voluntary element.

Local Authorities are represented both through the Regional Bodies and through the Local

Government Associations referred to under (b) above (See APPENDIX A).

The function of the National Institute for the Blind is to provide those services which can most economically and effectively be provided on a national scale. It publishes in quantity and variety reading material for the blind in Braille and Moon type; it supplies apparatus of all kinds; it provides homes and educational establishments where they are needed and not otherwise provided; it conducts research into every aspect of blind welfare; it assists local societies financially and otherwise in a great variety of ways; and by collecting agreements with other societies it seeks to eliminate overlapping and to promote co-ordination of local and national work throughout the country.

Other national bodies serve specific needs on a national scale. In this category fall the National Library for the Blind which (with a London headquarters and a Northern Branch at Manchester) produces a large number of hand-written books and operates a nation-wide lending library service; St. Dunstan's, which makes total provision for blind ex-Service men, and a small number of other societies.

NOTE : The analysis here given does not include Organisations of the Blind, of which there are two of national character, the National Association of Blind Workers and the National League of the Blind. These organisations are given a place in the constitution of the National Institute for the Blind, though they are not agencies in the ordinary sense of that term. They are strictly Trade Unions, one with a broad non-party political character, the other political. The National League of the Blind is a Friendly Society, and in that capacity collects money in certain areas. The National Association of Blind Workers is also a Friendly Society, but it makes no public collections.

Mention should be made, also, of the College of Teachers of the Blind, a professional association of teachers in schools, and of Home Teachers, which is recognised by the Board of Education and the Ministry of Health as an examining body for the Certificate of the College of Teachers of the Blind. There is also the National Association of Workshops for the Blind, which brings Workshop Managers together for a number of useful purposes, and promotes co-operation of Workshops.

9. Local Agencies.

The local agencies, whose constitution and functions have been referred to in SECTION 7 above, are indispensable for the personal service of blind people in their areas. Their work essentially is to know the blind, and to ensure that their needs are met by drawing on all available resources. In varying degrees they employ Home Teachers, paid officers and voluntary helpers. Even where the standard services for the blind, i.e., those provided for under the approved scheme, are performed by the Public Authority through its own officials, voluntary societies may continue in existence, supplying extra comforts and otherwise justifying their continued existence by visiting and other personal work.

10. The Joint Blind Welfare Committee.

In succession to seven Counties Associations which had been created in 1906-1911, three Regional Bodies in England and one for Wales were brought into existence in 1937, as a result of a Scheme proposed in the first instance by the Joint Blind Welfare Committee of the County Councils' Association and the Association of Municipal Corporations. When the Local Government Act of 1929 threw on Local Authorities generally more direct and comprehensive responsibility for blind welfare, the C.C.A. and A.M.C. had found it advisable to form the said Joint Committee in order to form a common general policy. One of the first matters it took into consideration was "the apparently excessive number of voluntary bodies undertaking functions in connection with the welfare of the blind." The result of its considerations was a request to the Minister of Health to "endeavour to secure a greater combination of efforts, preferably under the ægis of the National Institute for the Blind."

The final Scheme, arrived at after negotiation with the National Institute and some other organisations, was one of complete co-ordination, the National Institute for the Blind re-organising themselves as described above, and the local societies being grouped in regional bodies. It sets out in close detail the functions of the national body and the regional bodies; and it indicates in very general terms the work of the local agencies. A copy of the Scheme is appended (APPENDIX B). It should be added, however, that the Regional Areas originally proposed by the Committee were revised as a result of negotiations with the Union of Counties Associations for the Blind (now defunct) with the result that England was divided unevenly into three Regions—North, South and West, the whole of Wales becoming the fourth Region.

11. The Ministry of Health.

The Local Government Act of 1929 made a considerable transfer of detailed responsibility for the welfare of the blind from the Ministry of Health to the County and County Borough Councils. The Blind Persons Act of 1938 relieved the Local Authorities of the duty of submitting their schemes of blind welfare for the Ministry's approval. The Ministry now retains a general advisory function with ultimate power of enforcement, which can be exercised by reducing the block grant, payable under the Local Government Act, in the case of any Local Authority deemed not to be fulfilling its responsibility to the blind. In addition the Ministry has the function of revising for each fixed-grant-period the payments to be made by Local Authorities to voluntary associations in virtue of the services recognised by the 1929 Act; and, in the event of a dispute between any Local Authority and voluntary agency in this matter, it acts as the Court of Appeal.

An Advisory Committee on "matters relating to the care and supervision of the blind in England and Wales" was appointed in 1917 to advise the Minister of Health on questions of Blind Welfare. It has issued a series of valuable Annual Reports, a "Handbook on the Welfare of the Blind in England and Wales" and some Reports on special problems which have come under its consideration. An "Advisory Committee on Blindness (including prevention and treatment)" was appointed in 1938; that Committee was primarily medical in character. Since the outbreak of war neither Advisory Committee has met.

12. Blind Welfare and Social Security.

The system of blind welfare, as it has thus developed under the influence of the 1920 Act, shows three characteristics which seem to be particularly relevant to the present inquiry.

- (a) That the blind individually depend largely upon local administration;
- (b) That local machinery is in most areas a complex of voluntary and official action;
- (c) That many of the services of blind welfare can best be administered not locally but regionally or nationally.

These three characteristics seem to be particularly relevant to the questions how far blind welfare must of its nature remain a distinct and peculiar social service, and how, if at all, it can be fitted into a national system of social security.

13. Sources of Financial Assistance.

The income of a blind person is derived from many sources. Numerous Departments of State and Local Authorities administer the moneys he

receives. The Blind Old Age Pension is administered by the Board of Customs and Excise; the Disability Pension through the Regional Offices of the Ministry of Pensions; the War Injury allowance through the Assistance Board acting as general agent for the Ministry of Pensions. The Ministry of Health has the judicial, advisory and remotely supervisory powers mentioned in SECTION 11 above.

In some cases a person may be refused a Blind Old Age Pension who has been admitted to the Blind Register or *vice versa*, an anomaly arising from the present method of Certification, more fully referred to in SECTION 28 below.

Payments from Rate Funds may be administered by several different committees of Local Authorities. In some instances the machinery of Public Assistance is actually used to administer domiciliary assistance, although one of the principles of the Blind Persons Acts and of the Local Government Act, 1929, was to dissociate blind welfare from the Poor Law. Moreover, different authorities may, in respect of the same blind person, have different bases of assessing his means, with consequent multiplication of vexatious inquiries.

14. Blind Old Age Pensions.

When in 1920 the pensions provisions of the Blind Persons Act were being debated during the Committee stage in the House of Commons, an effort was made to establish principles which were specifically referable to the blind. Parliament, however, preferred to abide by an existing pattern and proceeded to give the blind an Old Age Pension at the age of 50. The 1938 Act did not alter the basic principle of the pension. Indeed, it made the system even more preposterous by lowering to 40 the age at which a blind person should be entitled to the Old Age Pension.

One of the reasons given for this reduction of age was that at 40 a blind person can seldom be trained to earn a real livelihood. This argument is not true in all cases, and it conveys an implication contrary to the fundamental principle of blind welfare, that every blind person should be given the maximum opportunity and inducement to earn his livelihood. The maxim "Too Old at 40" is not one for the blind.

The real object of the provision was revealed by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health in charge of the Bill when he said that, by reason of the devolution effected by the Local Government Act and of the increasing cost of blind welfare, the Local Authorities were bearing more than their share of the burden. In practice the remedy proposed was ineffective, for the costs to Local Authorities of blind welfare

have risen enormously since 1938. No further amendment of the Old Age Pensions Act, even if it were logically defensible, could give further relief to the Local Authorities. It seems therefore that, if further relief is desired, some quite different expedient must be devised. It may be added with some relevance that the exclusion of blind persons from the Supplementary Old Age Pension implies that the blind are not in fact regarded by the law as Old Age Pensioners from the age of 40 onwards.

Section 2 of the Blind Persons Act, 1938, applies the rules contained in Section 38 (3) of the Unemployment Act, 1934, requiring certain assets to be disregarded in determining the needs of the blind person and his dependants. The Old Age Pensions Act, 1936, the provisions of which govern the Blind Old Age Pension, does not allow them to be disregarded. It frequently happens therefore that when a blind person receiving domiciliary assistance applies for an Old Age Pension at the age of 40 he loses the benefit of the statutory disregards.

For similar reasons, namely that a different basis of assessment is used, a reduction in a blind man's income will normally result when he becomes entitled, at the age of 65, to a Contributory Pension instead of National Health Insurance. It is, of course, true that the amount of money globally payable to a blind person is a matter for decision by a Local Authority, which has power to avoid this hardship by disregarding a portion of the Contributory Old Age Pension.

It appears from this bare recital of facts that the purpose originally avowed for bringing blind persons prematurely under the Old Age Pensions Acts has not been fulfilled; the Local Authorities have been relieved only to a small degree, and the whole arrangement is illogical and inconsistent.

15. Variations in Domiciliary Assistance.

The requirement of the first Blind Persons Act that each Local Authority should frame a minimum scheme of blind welfare has led to local inequality in the amount of domiciliary assistance given. The variation is great; if the more generous authorities are correct in their assessment of needs, the grants in the less generous areas are grossly inadequate; and if the less generous areas are adequate, a number of other areas must be extravagant.

The figures given in APPENDIX C illustrate these variations, and, though there has been a general increase in grants since the year in which these figures were compiled, the variations remain. It will be seen that in the year 1939 the amount spent per head on the blind by County Councils varied from £6 to £33 and

by County Borough Councils from £12 to £50. With the possible exception of rent the cost of living is much the same for the blind everywhere. There is no rational defence for a system under which the amount of financial assistance to be given is governed not only by considerations properly taken into account in judging the needs of individuals, but also by such extraneous factors as the political complexion of the local Council, the rateable value of the area and even the efficiency in agitation of the blind in the area.

16. Residence and Chargeability.

Closely associated with the anomaly of local variations in domiciliary assistance is the problem of local chargeability. The responsibility fixed on Local Authorities by Section 2 of the Blind Persons Act, 1920, is for all registered blind persons "ordinarily resident" within their area. The Act contained no definition of this phrase, and no authoritative judicial interpretation was ever given.

Many difficulties were encountered in administering this provision, and in particular:

- (i) The Workshops for the Blind, almost all of which were in County Boroughs, attracted a certain number of employable blind persons to become ordinarily resident in their vicinity. Thus, in spite of Section 2, Clause 7, of the Act, the County Boroughs became to an increasing extent chargeable for an exaggerated portion of the employable blind.
- (ii) Differences in scales of domiciliary assistance offered an inducement to unemployable blind persons to migrate to areas of greatest benefit. Authorities with generous schemes consequently had to bear a heavier burden than those which interpreted their obligations in less generous terms.

Section 3 of the Blind Persons Act, 1938, was designed *inter alia* to meet the difficulties arising from the principal Act. For the purposes of this Section the life of a blind person is, in effect, divided into a series of five-year periods from the day on which he first receives assistance after the 1st April, 1938. During each five-year period the ultimate liability for the cost of any assistance granted to him in England and Wales rests on the Council of the area in which he was ordinarily resident for not less than 12 consecutive months in the course of the preceding five years.

In practice the later Act has wholly failed to solve the difficulty. County Boroughs which have training schools and workshops in their area still hesitate to accept workers from other parts of the country for fear that they will be charged eventually with the cost of Augmentation, and

possibly with other costs. This not only renders blind labour undesirably immobile, but puts formidable difficulties in the way of young blind persons receiving the most appropriate training in workshop occupations.

It has been suggested that the equitable solution would be to make the area in which a blind person's parents were legally resident at the time of his birth permanently chargeable for him. But this, though it would solve some of the present difficulties, would subject the blind to the conflicting mass of case law which grew around the old Poor Law. It seems that the mere fact of considerable variation between the basic rates of domiciliary assistance of different areas necessarily creates insoluble problems of settlement and chargeability.

17. Schools.

Schools and workshops for the blind generally are sited where accidents of local good will or local need brought into being a voluntary agency which established itself, and in the course of time accumulated buildings, endowments and tradition. The uneven distribution of schools was closely examined by a Committee on the Education of the Blind, whose Report, issued in 1936, pointed out that some parts of the country are but poorly served, whereas there is a comparatively dense concentration of schools in other parts. It recommended a reorganisation of schools which, leaving aside technical considerations which are not relevant here, takes the general character of a regional plan providing in each area schools for different types of children.

18. Workshops and Home Workers Schemes.

The 54 workshops for the blind in this country employed 3,581 blind persons in 1940-41. The workshops vary in size from 7 to 230 workers. Only 9 of them employ more than 120 persons, and 29 have accommodation for fewer than 40. It is obvious that most of them are too small to be economic units of production, for managerial and supervisory expenses are multiplied over and over again. Specialisation is virtually impossible, and the proportion of sighted help per blind worker is necessarily at its maximum in the smallest shops. Some degree of co-operation in buying and selling has been effected by the National Association of Workshops for the Blind and by the Workshops Committee of the Northern Counties Association for the Blind; but there is still an undesirable amount of poaching and unfair competition in tendering and retail selling between neighbouring workshops for the blind.

Home Workers Schemes, by the last return, employed 1,686 blind workers in England and Wales. They enable their blind workers to

carry on their trades in their homes, buying their material, supervising their work, finishing their product and, to some extent, selling it. The uneven distribution of Home Workers may be illustrated by the fact that more than a third of the total of Home Workers in England and Wales are in the two schemes which serve the Home Counties south and north of the Thames. In many parts of the country the number of Home Workers is small and their earnings are low, although it has been proved that with effective management such schemes provide a practical alternative to workshop employment, of particular value to blind persons who want to continue their own home life in country places or their home towns.

19. Administration and the Personal Touch.

The complexity of the interaction between public and voluntary agencies is illustrated by much of what has been said above. How far has experience proved that Statutory Authorities can, not only perform the administrative services involved with their customary impersonal efficiency, but also give the blind the personal services they need? How far has the relationship between the two elements been well balanced and harmonious? How far, in fact, has the test of "the effectiveness of combined voluntary and official action in a social service" vindicated the process set in motion by the Act of 1920?

The two parties to the arrangement have to some extent been mutually critical. Unflinching upholders of the voluntary principle have thought efficiency incompatible with sympathy. Officials on their part, ignoring perhaps the value of the personal touch, have been impatient with what they regarded as inefficiency in the voluntary society arrangements.

Much of that mutual criticism has cancelled itself out, and there is now on the whole a good understanding, though it is not to be denied that that understanding in some areas has been achieved by the subordination or even the elimination of the voluntary society. There was inefficiency in the management of some Societies. There was also in some places a fatal tendency to let the Local Authority pay the piper while still insisting on the right to call the tune. The real ground of criticism and of failure in these places was not the nature of voluntarism but poor performance.

The question whether the weakening of voluntarism has been in the best interests of the blind has to be decided in reference to the historic principle of Voluntary Blind Welfare—that blind people should be enabled, not merely to keep body and soul together, but so far as

possible to make their contribution to the community as self-supporting, self-respecting citizens. That principle has not always been observed in Local Authority administration.

20. The Achievement of the Local Authorities.

The great achievement of the Local Authorities has been to bring into the scope of blind welfare every blind person who needs and desires assistance. That has been made possible by the Registration of the Blind provided for by the Blind Persons Act of 1920. There is no similar Register of any other class in the community. No system of blind welfare can now be regarded as satisfactory which is not based on it.

The Register is the envy of blind welfare organisations in other countries. Great Britain is in fact the only country where the total number of blind persons is known with anything like full accuracy. Ascertainments by Census prove always to be understatements.

It does not follow, however, that the same criteria are used in all areas to judge suitability for admission to the Register. The maps appended (APPENDIX D) show remarkable discrepancies in the registered incidence of blindness in the Counties and the County Boroughs of England and Wales. One of the remarkable facts illustrated is the apparent higher incidence of blindness towards the West of England and in Wales. The range of variation is too great to be explained by factors of age distribution or the local prevalence of certain diseases.

21. The Service of the Old and Unemployable Blind.

The table of the age distribution of the blind in SECTION 5 above shows an overwhelming incidence of blindness in the higher age groups. To the 55,000 blind persons over the age of 50, domiciliary assistance and home visiting are services of outstanding importance.

For home visiting the majority of Local Agencies engage Home Teachers who have taken the Certificate of the College of Teachers of the Blind, which demands knowledge of Braille, Moon and handicrafts. In practice the Home Teachers are seldom able to give much time to teaching. They are predominantly social workers rather than teachers. A recent return from a South of England county shows that 95 per cent. of the visits paid by Home Teachers in the course of the last two years were purely social, a percentage somewhat exaggerated by the evacuation problem, but fairly representative of ordinary conditions in many places. Nearly everywhere the number of teachers is small in relation to the number of blind people who need visiting.

The attention given in recent years to the peculiarly hard lot of the deaf-blind has emphasised that Home Teachers with, say, 120 blind people on their books, cannot possibly give all their charges anything like the attention they require. They do their best under considerable difficulties. Their salaries on the whole are low ; but their work is both skilful and devoted. They themselves are the first to lament the inadequacy of their numbers. The cost of their service is, practically always nowadays, met from public funds, for even those Voluntary Societies which direct the work of the local Home Teachers receive grants for the purpose from the Local Authorities. It is the Local Authorities which are responsible in the long run for the adequacy, or inadequacy, of the service.

22. Workshop Management and Training.

As managers of workshops for the blind, popularly elected bodies have great difficulties to contend with. They are open to political influence, particularly when public opinion can be organised by "pressure groups" of blind persons. Even apart from that, there is a temptation to earn kudos by ostentatious kindness. When workshops for the blind have been taken over by municipalities their operations have often become less and less economic. Running costs have increased ; economic wages have declined ; increased Augmentation and grants of various kinds have tended to become the main factor of the total remuneration ; trading losses have increased.

In the matter of training for manual occupations there is also some ground for criticism. The figures in SECTION 5 above show that the total of unemployable blind persons, 63,119, exceeds the total of blind persons over the age of 50. There are in fact among them a considerable number of comparatively young people. Some of the younger blind have other defects, mental or physical, which make them beyond doubt unemployable ; but there is a temptation for public bodies to take the easiest way out of the difficulty presented by the loss of sight, and to have regard only to the prevention of destitution. They pay the cash and let the training go.

23. The Rôle of Voluntary Societies.

To voluntary societies are due not only the initiative of all work for the blind, but its extension to all parts of the field. The persistent energy of voluntarism has been conspicuously demonstrated since 1920. New developments in that period include the establishment of Sunshine Homes for Blind Babies, which have developed into residential nursery schools of particular

educational interest ; the foundation and the development of the one Secondary school for blind girls, Chorleywood College, and the development of Worcester College, the one public school for blind boys ; the foundation of schools for retarded blind children and mentally defective blind children, and arrangements for the education of epileptic blind children. Important research work into education and technical problems in great variety has been undertaken and carried through by voluntary agencies and at the cost of voluntary funds. Voluntaryism has developed Talking Books for the Blind, and in conjunction with the B.B.C. has provided the blind with wireless sets on a vast scale. The problem of the deaf-blind has been investigated, their number ascertained and work on their particular behalf initiated. The number of Homes for the Blind has been substantially increased. The re-training and after-care of the war-blinded was a voluntary enterprise in the last war ; it has been carried on in the interval between the wars on a purely voluntary basis and has been extended solely at the cost of voluntary funds in the present war to include civilian war-blinded as well as ex-Service men.

This enumeration of new services brings out the technical character of much work for the blind, and the need in blind welfare for some organisation with wide scope able to finance new undertakings from voluntary funds.

Voluntaryism, too, must be an element in effective personal service. Many blind people need friendship and personal care such as cannot be rendered by any official however competent and kind-hearted. In the nature of things a Local Authority Committee cannot be so successful in enrolling this kind of help for the blind as a society whose whole motive is voluntary. One of the irreplaceable values of voluntaryism is indeed its ability to select from the community at large the people who have time and are disposed to give themselves devotedly to helping people suffering from a handicap which engages their sympathy.

24. The Public-Voluntary Partnership.

It is evident that blind welfare cannot revert to the partial effectiveness of voluntaryism ; and that under purely public administration it might too easily become stereotyped and static. Neither voluntaryism nor public administration by itself is enough. The comprehensiveness which follows from Local Authority responsibility having once been established cannot be dispensed with. The Local Authorities have in fact accepted their responsibility generously and with

great good will. They cannot, however, move far in advance of public opinion or incur expenditure on experiments. Experimentation, research, pioneer work and new enterprise generally must be undertaken by voluntary agencies. The needs of the blind develop with the changing needs of the population at large. New inventions are constantly bringing new compensations for blindness within reach. The search for new devices and new methods of service must be incessant. Blind welfare, as we now understand it, must be both comprehensive and dynamic.

It seems, therefore, that whatever form local government may take after the war and however the burden of social service is distributed between local and national resources, there should be everywhere an equitable partnership which allows both the public and the voluntary element to play their essential parts. There should in fact be in every part of the country a public authority which is responsible for ensuring that something is done for every blind person, and also a wide public interest which shows itself in personal service and voluntary organisation. That situation exists in some areas—not everywhere. It may be asked whether it is not possible to ensure a better balance of voluntaryism and public action over the country as a whole, and whether a better machinery could not be devised for the day-to-day administration of blind welfare than direct administration by sub-committees of County and County Borough Councils. To this last point further reference is made in SECTION 31 below.

25. The Expense of Blindness.

Before drawing any moral from the facts and considerations already set out it seems necessary to emphasise that blindness in itself adds to the cost of living. Every blind person labours under an economic handicap. It costs a man more to live if he is blind than if he can see. A blind man may be able to produce as much as a seeing person working alongside of him, but his skill and energy would have given him a larger output if he had his sight. A blind business man or administrator must have a reader or secretary ; the blind professional man cannot drive his own car ; the blind housewife must have domestic help ; an old blind man cannot play his part in running the home ; aged blind people in general must pay guides to take them about and, generally, the attention and amusement they require is a constant charge. In any scheme of financial assistance, therefore, it must be recognised that the subsistence level of the blind is higher than that of the sighted.

26. Flat-Rate Benefit or Handicap Allowance.

The idea of covering the risk of blindness, so far as it falls on adult life, by an extension of social insurance is attractive. A payment secured by right would be vastly more satisfactory to the blind than any such device as the Too Old at Forty anticipation of old age. The figure set out in SECTION 5 of this memorandum will perhaps indicate to the experts of Sir William Beveridge's Committee the possibility or otherwise of any such extension of present social insurance.

In any case compensation for an economic handicap from a central national fund is preferable to the vagaries and inconsistencies of local domiciliary assistance.

The conception of a handicap allowance is inherent in the existing device of Augmentation of Wages and in War Pensions based on percentage of disability. In relation to blindness it can be interpreted so as to cover not only the reduction of a blind worker's earning power, but also the expense of blindness described in SECTION 25 above. The allowance might be at a flat rate or on a percentage principle, and in the latter form at any rate it can be applied to other handicapped workers. If it has been proved possible to assess the degree of disability caused by the loss of an arm or leg in war, it should be *prima facie* possible to assess the degree of disability caused by forms of crippling, deafness and total or partial blindness. One of the attractions of the proposal to those who, being concerned with the blind, can deal only with those whose defective sight comes under the official definition, is that it would do something to alleviate the hardships of men and women who are not blind, but who are debarred from many employments by defective sight.

It is recognised that a completely logical scheme would not result. Even total blindness is not equivalent to complete disability, although war pensions have in all cases of certifiable blindness been awarded on a 100 per cent. disability basis. Men who were blinded in the last war have been re-trained for a great variety of occupations and have proved employable to a high degree. Similarly, blindness not caused by war wounds does not totally impair earning capacity. It greatly restricts the choice of occupations; it necessitates special training and, as has been emphasised above, it invariably adds to the cost of living. It is proposed, therefore, for consideration that handicap allowances, under that or some other name which would not imply premature old age, should be granted to all registered blind persons who have completed their education and training, and that these

allowances should be a national charge and be paid through the Post Office.

NOTE : It is taken for granted that responsibility for financing the education and training of children, adolescents and adults who lose their sight after attaining maturity will continue to rest on the Local Education Authority and the Board of Education.

The amount of the handicap allowance would of course be arbitrary. No flat rate sum or notional 100 per cent. would meet all the varying requirements of different individuals or even of the same individual at different periods of his life. The allowance would not in itself be a subsistence minimum, but rather a core payment to which would be added earnings, or compensation for earning-disability, whether that be the result of old age, invalidism or other handicap additional to blindness. To the employee in a workshop for the blind the handicap allowance would be augmentation of wages. Others it would encourage to find work outside the sheltered occupations with reasonable prospect of making a decent livelihood. A clear understanding that it would be augmented only by payments compensating other disabilities, e.g., by National Health Insurance or Unemployment benefit, or in exceptional circumstances by Public Assistance, would encourage able-bodied blind persons to work rather than to recline upon subsistence payments. The National Institute for the Blind, which includes many blind persons on its governing body and as a matter of principle employs many blind persons and expects them to be competent, is entitled to emphasise that the object of blind welfare is to avoid not only destitution but demoralisation.

For blind persons unable to work the handicap allowance would be in effect a subsistence minimum supplemented by Old Age Pensions or other payments according to the needs of each case.

Having regard to the amounts now paid for augmentation of wages on the one hand and for domiciliary assistance on the other, it is suggested that the national handicap allowance might be fixed at £1 per week, though a good case might be made for 25s. per week. Whatever the amount, the whole of it should be disregarded in any assessment of means.

27. Percentage Disability Pensions.

Little need be added on the percentage-disability-pension alternative to a handicap allowance. Some points in its favour have already been indicated. While we must insist on the special needs of the blind and must

emphasise that blindness is in itself an added expense, we think it logical and desirable that blind welfare should be fitted into a general scheme of social security. The blind desire and deserve special recognition. They do not claim peculiar privileges. They recognise that certain things which the community has done in their interest should be done for others who have to live under a handicap different from their own, but similar in some of its effects. A recent Editorial of THE NEW BEACON (April, 1942) may be quoted in this connection. It says :

"The differentiation then" (in 1920) "established between the blind and other handicapped persons has never been substantially justified, at any rate to the satisfaction of the other groups. The deaf have agitated in vain for a Deaf Persons Act and, in so far as deafness is not to anything like the same extent so severe an economic handicap as blindness, identical treatment is possibly not appropriate. But in so far as they are handicapped by disease or accident, and in so far as they require special provision to put them on level terms with the unhandicapped, the deaf have a case for differentiation of some kind. If the Poor Law was, and Public Assistance is, inadequate or unsuitable for the blind, it is for the same reasons, though perhaps in a different degree, inadequate or unsuitable for the deaf, as it is for the crippled and other groups of handicapped citizens."

So long as the special sense of disability in relation to blindness is kept in mind, there can be no possible objection to blindness being regarded as one form of disability among several which may be deemed to deserve financial compensation. It is urged that some device of this kind should, in any case, be applied to the needs of the partially blind whose number is unknown* but whose handicap is indisputable.

28. Regional Areas and Regional Functions.

The foregoing description of the existing system of blind welfare has brought out that it is, horizontally, a complex of public and voluntary action and, vertically, one of local, regional and national services. The regional element is anything but simple. It consists, on the one hand, of agencies which provide education and employment in areas larger than those of single Local Authorities and, on the other, of regional bodies comprising, for purposes of

co-ordination, all the agencies voluntary and official in areas delimited *ad hoc* in 1937. The functional areas of the former were never deliberately defined. They took their origin not in planning but in the accidents of social history. The 1937 areas were equally unplanned; they resulted from negotiations which took no account of the social or economic arguments usually considered in schemes of regionalism.

This question of regional areas and functions obviously bears on the question whether relieving Local Authorities of domiciliary assistance would affect their general responsibility for blind welfare administration. It may be considered also in the light of the general anticipation that local government is due for a reconstruction after the war which will follow the lines of the Civil Defence regionalisation established for war-time purposes, or create other regions to something like that number, namely 11, in England and Wales.

Any new local government regions will certainly not correspond either with the functional areas of more-than-local agencies for the blind or the boundaries of the regional bodies established in 1937. It seems likely that, when they are formally established, the more-than-local organisation of blind welfare will gradually conform. It would be difficult, for example, for the rationalisation of schools, referred to in SECTION 17 above, not to take account of recognised regional boundaries and, as training and employment follow schooling, for workshop reorganisation not to follow the same course. More-than-local services would, in fact, cry out for logical, regional management.

There would in any case be positive advantages in making certain services regional. Instances are :—

- (a) Certification of blindness. Whereas ascertainment and subsequent Registration is essentially a local function, Certification might be better done regionally. The Prevention of Blindness Committee, which reported in 1931, called for a radical alteration in the method of Certification. It referred to a widespread impression that a number of persons are enjoying the benefits of the Blind Persons Act who are not entitled to them because they are not blind; and to such anomalies as persons being refused Old Age Pensions who had been admitted to the Blind Register or *vice versa*, and it recommended that in future no one should be entered on the Blind Register until he had been examined and certified by a medical practitioner with "special experience of ophthalmology," that special experience

* A recent return (March, 1940) shows the number of children in Elementary Schools for the Blind as 1,168 and in Elementary Schools for Partially Sighted Children as 1,258.

being defined in definite terms. That recommendation has not yet been fully accepted. It can only with great difficulty be accepted in local areas which are without an ophthalmic hospital or at least a well-staffed ophthalmic department of a general hospital. Regions, on the other hand, can find in their areas competent ophthalmologists for this fundamental process of ascertaining who are the blind who require specific services.

- (b) The Northern and Southern Regions have already instituted an Ophthalmological Referee Service giving in particular the right of appeal to persons once certified as blind and on re-examination de-certified. Their experience has indicated the value of such a court of appeal. Clearly it should be a regional rather than local service, and it might be possible for adjoining regions to agree to nominate a referee or board of referees, so as to avoid setting up one equal authority against another.
- (c) The provision of Homes for the Blind is another service which might in the first instance be regarded as regional. There are at the present time in England and Wales 40 permanent Homes for the Blind, of which 18 are conducted by local societies with other functions; three by Local Authorities; ten by *ad hoc* voluntary societies, and nine by the National Institute for the Blind. A single home in an area does not meet the need satisfactorily because the blind who need homes are of many ages and grades, and a regional system providing variety is greatly to be preferred to a system of ungraded homes for single localities.
- (d) Conferences and Refresher Courses for Home Teachers have already proved themselves a definite service of regional value, and further progress could be made in regions of more manageable size.
- (e) The reorganisation of Home Workers Schemes on a regional basis seems likely to be the most effective method of levelling up the present marked unevenness of an employment service which is capable of considerable development.

29. Local-National Relationship.

Such regionalisation as is suggested in the last section would simplify the task of local agencies and provide them with means by which they could co-operate for joint action. The regional organisation would be of a consultative character. It would be financed by grants paid by the

Local Authorities and/or local agencies in respect of the services required of them. It is not suggested that executive regional agencies should be set up which would complicate, if not conflict with, the tasks of the local or the national bodies.

It may be as well here to emphasise the importance of reducing rather than increasing the number of executive authorities. The Joint Blind Welfare Committee, when it came to survey the position of the Local Authorities collectively in relation to blind welfare, was impressed by the apparently "excessive number of voluntary bodies" and, although the inquiry then initiated brought to light reasons for the co-existence of numerous societies, the process of co-ordination necessarily involves the elimination of overlapping.

Local and national services interlock. There are a number of needs in blind welfare which can only be effectively met on a national scale by bodies of national scope. Neither local nor regional bodies can undertake such services as the publication of books and periodicals in embossed type, or the production of the great variety of apparatus and appliances needed for the social and industrial life of the blind and in the education of blind children. Even if the elementary schools can be reorganised on regional lines, there will still be small groups of selected children too small to justify more than single schools for each requirement. There are a score of other needs which can be met only by national bodies acting on behalf of agencies for the blind in all parts of the country. The life and dynamic force of blind welfare must be sustained by continual research into the psychology and employability of the blind and manifold technical aspects of their problems. Such research requires the focusing of experience and ideas from all levels of blind welfare on a point where adequate resources are available. Prevention of blindness is, again, a national service, to the need of which blind welfare has directed growing attention of recent years. Every local agency is in fact dependent for a number of essentials on the National Institute for the Blind and on the National Library for the Blind, to say nothing of the smaller national societies such as the Guide Dogs for the Blind Association. A direct relationship of local to national bodies is vital. The regions established in 1937 were essentially co-ordinative and, however their size is modified, they must retain that character.

30. Locality and Personal Service.

In distinction from services of national or regional type, personal service of the blind is essentially local in character, requiring neigh-

bourhood and neighbourliness, and depending for efficiency on human factors little accounted of in offices and places where they plan. It might almost be said that for the evoking of voluntary service, the smaller the area the better. On the other hand, for ability to employ trained professional home teachers, larger areas are an advantage. For practical purposes County Borough areas are a satisfactory compromise. The diffused population of many county areas presents a very different problem, as does the greater density of population in highly urbanised areas which are not County Boroughs. No general principle applies to all the diversities of population-spread. On the whole it would seem that, for home visiting and for other personal services, the areas now established should be taken for granted, and the emphasis laid on the need for complete service in the area, whatever its size and character. Completeness of service argues wide expansion of public interest and support. That end is served in some counties, and even in some County Boroughs, by devolution of the central Committee's work to local groups and sub-committees. But there is room everywhere for some, and in many places much, intensification of local interest, to say nothing of fuller understanding of the needs of the blind and of the resources available for their help. The root causes of inadequacy of service are two: first, that the local rates have to meet a great variety of charges, and there is a limit to the poundage of costs directly attributable to the service of the blind; secondly, that the conferring of statutory responsibility for blind welfare on Local Authorities has created an impression in the public mind that the blind are now "looked after by the State" and that personal interest and support is therefore no longer necessary. Emphasis on completeness of service, arousing both personal sympathy and local patriotism, would possibly affect the form of local administration and foster the kind of administrative development which has been hinted at in SECTION 24 above.

31. Blind Welfare Associations.

It was there suggested that the resources of administration are not yet exhausted, and that for personal service it might be possible to devise better machinery than sub-committees of popularly elected bodies. It is not intended to develop this idea disproportionately or to allow it to divert attention from more immediate issues. But the experience gained in the last 20 years does suggest the desirability, as well as the possibility, of combining the advantages and avoiding the weaknesses of administration

either by Local Authority committees or by independent voluntary Associations. The combination of public and voluntary action, frequently referred to in this memorandum, has been empirical. No agreed theory of the degree and method of co-operation has yet been deduced. The amalgam almost everywhere is still unstable. Vigorous management, or competent committee control, may in one area maintain voluntarism in full strength, while in another a turn of the political tide, or an unfortunate appointment of chairman or chief official by a voluntary society, may bring about changes whereby permanent disadvantage results from purely temporary circumstances.

It is difficult to revive the spirit of voluntarism where it has been officially discouraged or destroyed. It is therefore all important (unless the arguments of SECTIONS 19 to 24 above are rejected) to formulate a theory of public-voluntary co-operation which, while it preserves the dignity and eventual responsibility of the Local Authority, would ensure a perpetuation of the voluntary element.

The application of any such theory might involve the creation of administrative hybrids, organisations of intermediate form corresponding in the sphere of social service to intermediate forms of control and management in other spheres of national life, such as Public Utility Corporations, the B.B.C., the P.L.A., the L.P.T.B., etc. There is no reason why social service should lag behind industry and the State in devising means of reconciling interests which are apparently, but only apparently, divergent.

In blind welfare the proper line of evolution might be the formation of Blind Welfare Associations, constituted with a membership of the general public and under the government of councils or committees, on which representatives of the Local Authority would sit with representatives of the Associations' membership. Such Associations would be responsible in the first instance for the services laid down in the Local Authority's approved scheme of blind welfare under agreed budget provision. They would be the employers of all officials locally employed in blind welfare and they would be responsible for all payments to individual blind persons, so far as payments were needed over and above the provisions of the national Social Security scheme. They would handle payments to employment agencies and other agencies providing services to the locality. If any Blind Welfare Association failed to carry out the Local Authority's scheme, responsibility would revert to the Local Authority itself on satisfying the Ministry of Health, or the Regional Authority, that the Association was in default. But

the emphasis would be not on the ultimate responsibility of the Local Authority but on the freedom of the Association to develop the minimum scheme for the area in every detail so as to provide the desired complete service for every locality. The success of this optimum programme would depend very largely on the ability of the Association to enlist voluntary service and to obtain voluntary income.*

32. Participation of the Blind.

A vitally important element in the membership of these Associations would be that of the blind themselves. More than the beneficiaries of any other branch of social service, the blind have contributed to the building up of their own welfare system. The National Institute for the Blind, for instance, was founded by a blind man and owes, it may fairly be said, as much to the numerous blind men and women who have served it, either as members of its Council or as employees, as to the sighted men and women who have insisted on the right of the blind to play their full part in its work. The voluntary societies for blind welfare have been most successful when they have brought together, in the service of the blind, people who have public spirit and experience of public affairs, people who have a strong sense of social duty and a capacity for personal service, and blind representatives of the blind community. Blind members of councils and committees make a constant contribution of actual experience which is an invaluable complement to the sympathetic understanding of their colleagues. There are, however, numerous committees concerned with blind welfare which do not include any blind persons. In the Blind Welfare Associations here foreshadowed the blind will play an active part. The conferring of direct responsibility on Local Authorities has led to an expenditure of energy on political agitation for the increase of domiciliary assistance, and of grants and subsidies of all kinds. It would be a positive advantage to remove these issues from the arena of local politics. The substitution of a national handicap allowance for domiciliary assistance would, incidentally, release a useful force which might be directed towards constructive ends if opportunity is offered through Blind Welfare Associations of the type here in view.

33. Hopes of Integration.

The attempt to answer the question whether shifting the cost (or the main cost) of supporting the blind from local to national funds would involve other administrative changes has led to

* The raising of voluntary funds would normally be conducted in agreement with the National Institute for the Blind under Unification Agreements of the kind now in force over the greater part of the country.

a surprisingly lengthy answer. If no concession had been made to current talk of regionalisation some of that length could have been saved. But a possible rearrangement of local government areas offers a tempting opportunity of solving some, at any rate, of the difficulties due to the illogical patchwork of more-than-local agencies and of Regions whose boundaries have no relation to the functional areas of the more-than-local agencies or to any other practical considerations.

No logical mapping of blind welfare would in fact be possible unless the new areas contained reasonably large aggregates of the classes of the blind, e.g., blind children and the blind who require homes, whose comparative fewness makes them amenable to regional rather than to local treatment. The search for logical solutions is perhaps a waste of time in a society where illogical systems, especially any which can be excused by sentiment or history, seem to work until they are challenged by deliberately planned hostility. The existing system of blind welfare works fairly well on the whole. It has benefited by criticism from without and from within. It has achieved some measure of co-ordination. There is a healthy desire to co-operate, only partially queered by the Englishman's natural delight in operating on his own. There is even talk of "radically reorganising" the schools, and, if the random placing of schools, hedgehogged by charters and endowments, can be challenged, other institutional anomalies may at least be discussed.

If the shape of local government is not changed, blind welfare will in time produce solutions of its own. Much of what has been said above in particular relation to possible regionalisation applies to the existing order of things. Meanwhile blind welfare is certainly not too proud to benefit by the application of logic to the problem of social security in general. The blind have profited immensely by the good will of Parliament and of the Local Authorities. It is only reasonable that they should welcome the extension of similar consideration to others. Leaving the assessment of their needs to the vagaries of local judgment and generosity has led to indefensible inequalities and to consequent difficulties which could never have been foreseen.

The first part of an adequate solution must be to take the blind off the rates, as they have already been taken out of the Poor Law. The second part must be to integrate the whole system of blind welfare into a firm amalgam of public and voluntary action and of local and national services, welded to a system of Social Security which will honour the self-respect of every handicapped man or woman.

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1874	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1875	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1876	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1877	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1878	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1879	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1880	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1881	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1882	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1883	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1884	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1885	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1886	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1887	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1888	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1889	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1890	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1891	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1892	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1893	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1894	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1895	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1896	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1897	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1898	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1899	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2
1900	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2	11	1/2

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